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577 slanderer's mouth at all price. 'Keep quiet for the sake of peace',
578 the Ibanag will say. For the sake of peace! What kind of an Isneg
558 is he who knows anything about peace under the circumstances? Keep quiet, if you cannot do otherwise, all right; but there is more than one day in a year: try to find an occasion to settle your quarrels, do not dismiss the matter from your mind until your right has been recognized. Did you ever meet a coward who became rich or influential? And he is a coward who would keep silent in a quarrel when the right is on his side. A few people will continue the fight, although evidently in the wrong: this should not be; if wrong, let go; but if right, go ahead. Nevertheless be careful not to use your headax indiscriminately. The best thing to do is to keep it out of the way, lest you do rashly what you would have to repent of afterwards.
[628] Indeed, you might kill or injure one of your friends and in this way start a series of blood feuds. Remember that the right remains on your side only as long as no blood flows; but when killing or wounding results from your quarrel, the offended party gets the right on its side and will not fail to revenge the offense, and with reason."

578 Last year *Kadáw's* son divorced one of his wives, a relative of
558 *Pa-rây*, the "presidente" or mayor of Tawit. The woman married
556 another man, and her parents failed to give back to *Kadáw* all the articles given them at the time of her first marriage; a few of them
627 were kept: hence a terrible quarrel. *Pa-rây* and *Kadáw*, both influential among their people, met at Kabugaw at the invitation of the lieutenant-governor. For days the square resounded with the shouts of *Kadáw*, who being perhaps the richer and certainly the older of the two, hoped to gain the victory by showing the greatest daring. He even went so far as to challenge the other party to wage war for a year in order to see in whose favor the dispute would be settled. *Pa-rây*, however, kept to his rights, he did not move an inch from his evidently strong position, and after several days of angry words and much ostentation of bravery on both sides, the quarrel was finally settled by the lieutenant-governor himself in favor of *Pa-rây*.

*Kadáw* at the time made himself ridiculous all over the district for trying to defend a cause that was lost from the beginning. Nevertheless very few would have dared to tell him so to his face: *Kadáw* is very much feared, he is a rich man, and the whims of such people should not be openly ridiculed; but everybody was more than con-
578 vinced that *Kadáw's* behavior was not what it should be. He clearly
558 offended against the recognized Isneg code, and *Pa-rây*, besides getting
627

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his rights, won the sympathy of every unbiased Isneg. He kept up the quarrel and finished it with a complete victory. If no constabulary soldiers had been in the province, the result would evidently not have been as bloodless as that, and a series of interminable feuds would have been the inevitable result. Right and wrong would gradually have been forgotten, and nothing would have been left but a series of revenges on both sides following one another in quick succession, revenges that would have come to be considered lawful in the eyes of every Isneg on account of the injuries that would have preceded them.

The above lines were written while I was away from Kabugaw. When on my way back thither, and before reaching the latter place, I heard that during my absence *Kadáw* had killed *Rukkadóñ*, a policeman from Baliwanan and the latest husband (he was the third one) of the woman referred to in the previous paragraph. Instead of going straight to Kabugaw, I stopped for a while at Bolo and had a little conversation about the matter with *Káyábo*, a Bolo brave or *mêñal*. Bolo is in sympathy with Lettuakan, *Kadáw's* place, and *Káyábo* did not fail to show that he held no brief for Baliwanan, nor for *Pa-rây* either. At a certain moment the old fellow stopped his diatribe to ask for *Pa-rây's* title, and a complacent companion told him that *Pa-rây* was now "presidente'². At this juncture *Káyábo* said: "*Desiréute, kawél* (president, dung)", which is the most forceful expression of contempt in the mouth of an Isneg.

On the same occasion I purposely referred to *Basílig* of Pansian who belongs to the *Pa-rây* faction, saying that I had seen an *andóri* (a special tattoo on the arm of a man who has taken the head of an enemy; this *andóri* may sometimes be tattooed on the arm of one of his children) on the arm of his daughter, which I told *Káyábo* I supposed to be a proof of the valor of *Basílig*. But *Káyábo* could not bear to hear any praise of a man who belonged to a faction he despised, and he used a most vulgar expression in denying *Basílig's* rights to such honors: "*Óki náyá atáwana ya andórina* (the vulva of his wife is his *andóri*)". This again shows that in the eyes of an Isneg an enemy has no rights, that no consideration is due to him, that he is a complete nonentity, while a friend is to be supported by all means, even though by committing a most flagrant injustice. *Kadáw* is now in jail, but most all Isneg are firmly convinced that ere long he will get out of it, because he is supposed to be the richest man in Apayaw.

226 Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco
[824] or the juice derived from the berries of the *tuba* bush. Also several types of fish traps are used.

224 Deer and wild pigs are hunted with dogs. Wild pigs are also trapped in their runways. The meat thus obtained is divided with fellow hunters and among neighbors. The hunting technique is quite communistic.

## SOCIETY

621 The government of the Apayaos is simple. In
622 each family the man rules supreme and orders his wo-
[595] man what to do. This is the unit.

[361] A group of from 15 to 30 families build their houses near each other, *babalay*, being joined together for mutual aid and protection under one head man,
[157] *maingel*, who holds his position because he is the na-
[554] tural leader, is wealthy, and is the stongest and fiercest
627 warrior. The *maingel* wears a red turban on his head
624 and his arms are tattooed to the shoulders. He is absolute ruler; but has several advisory assistants, *pangmarwan*, who likewise have won their position through ability. The next best man to the *maingel*, is his number one assistant and so on. The common man may advise a *pangmarwan*. Upon the death of the *maingel* the number one *pangmarwan* takes his place.
627 The *maingel* and *pangmarwans* sit as a court to judge
692 any one who has broken the common law. Disputes between individuals are settled by intermediary peace
681 makers. It is notable that the fines are not paid to the government, but to the injured party, who receives the suitable indemnity. This may be in the form of jars, beads, animals, and other valuables.